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by his slow walk—his body being dead, he naturally could not make good progress. 754

Personal revenge was also accomplished by means of an offering to a god, accompanied by the request that the personal enemy be killed. The rite was called *uiuna* (*unuka*). A pig, fish, or *kava* was carried to the sacred place and offered with the formula, "O——, here is your offering, bring about the death of——." For the same purpose, before eating, a little *popoi* was thrown into the air, with the same invocation (4).

Another manner of accomplishing *naue* was as follows. Female relatives would come to the place where the dead man's body was, and weep. No one could touch them. Anyone who accepted anything from their hands would be taken as a human victim (4).

From Père Pierre's manuscript (4) comes this account of the way in which a man could revenge himself upon a thief. When a man's pigs had been stolen, he had recourse to a *tau'a umoko* who cast the spell called *umoko* in the following way: The *tau'a* took branches of the vine called *papa*, made a circle with the twigs, and then walked around it six times, saying a spell— 754 685

Around, around, O Oieke,
I am turning, O Oieke,
Take your man, O Oieke,
The man born of the land, O Oieke,
Taimenanu is the man, O Oieke.

The practitioner extended his arms as though taking in his hands the spirit of the thief and recited another spell. He then went upon the temple platform, pretending meanwhile to carry the spirit in his hands. Arrived at the sacred place, he put the twigs of *papa* (*Phaseolus amoenus*) in a hole with some other plants that cause itching, as for instance wild taro or down of bamboo, and covered all with earth. During seven days sexual intercourse was *tapu* to the priest and he must fast an equal number of days. According to Père Pierre, he would in reality fast three days, the fact of the other four being accomplished in a single day by lying down and getting up four times. On the seventh day—according to an informant, the thief fell sick and died slowly. [824]

A thief could protect himself against the *umoko* by washing his body with the grease of the pig that he had stolen. If the thief had done this, those who solicited the *umoko* would die.

Another manner of accomplishing the death of a thief was by means of the rite called *niu vahi*. The *tuhuna niu vahi* made a *koufau* by taking a stick of *fau*, scraping off its bark, and ornamenting it with little strips of white cloth. With this he went at night upon the house platform of the

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man he desired to kill, tapped on the pavement with the stick, and pronounced a curse. It is said also that he put in the crevices of the pavement certain objects that would cause the death of the victim when he passed over them (4).

To kill persons who had stolen, some of the root called *eka* (amomum), leaves of the *okaoka* or *hue puoo* (according to Dordillon, the *akaoka* was a nettle and the *hue puao*, a colocynth.) or *oka*, a kind of shrub somewhat like a raspberry bush, with the down of reeds were put into a hole made for the purpose in the soft-wooded tree called *pu'atea* (?). The hole was then stopped up. The thief was supposed to lose all his hair and die (4) as a result of this spell.

Spells for Protection

When a man desired to steal pigs or other property of someone else, he made collars of pandanus seed and offered them to the spirit of some dead person, invoking its aid in his enterprise. It was thought that after this rite had been performed the members of the household from whom the thieving was to be done would hear nothing, that their dogs would not bark, and that the pigs would not cry. The pandanus-seed collar was sometimes placed on a dessicated body, if one were available. Père Pierre (4), who recorded this practice, relates that a woman who had performed this rite stole a baby from a house filled with people and dogs, without disturbance or detection. She claimed afterwards to have been conducted by the spirit of a gigantic man.

When a man desired to lay a *kahui* (restriction) on his land, he took to a *tuhuna ko'aho* a coconut leaf from his land and requested him to perform the rite called *ko'aho*. The *tuhuna* wove the leaf into a representation of a human figure (*tiki*). He then heated a pebble in the fire, collected some shell fish, which he crushed, and a poison leaf that irritated the skin on contact; all of these articles he put together in a basket, and buried them in a hole at the base of a tree on the client's property, covering the hole with stones. Above the hole, the woven coconut leaf sign was fastened on the tree, being called *ko'aho*. The land was now *tapu*. It was expected that any trespasser would be afflicted with ulcers (*puku*) in the stomach or under the arm.

When a man's chickens died or did not prosper he might perform the spell called *pou hati kau* (*pou*, post; *hati*, to break or assemble; *kau*, ?). A post was set up where the chickens were fed. Seven small packages of breadfruit paste were cooked; the seventh being thrown away. Seven small packages of *makiko* (see Preparation of Food) were baked, and the seventh thrown away. Seven crawfish were caught, and the seventh was

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thrown away. Seven small sticks of *fau* were peeled and ornamented with bands of white cloth, the seventh being discarded. All of these articles were assembled, six of each kind, and buried near the post. This rite was supposed to make the chickens thrive. Père Pierre (4) relates that sometimes a man could feed his pigs on pork and fish to put them in a better condition. I infer that there were magical practices connected with this custom though they are not described.

Transference of a Spell

The following account is interesting as an example of a transference of a spell. A native woman doctor had been called to heal the hand of an old white resident. The grandson of this resident, a mischievous boy, interfered with and angered the practitioner in the course of her work A short time afterwards the affliction that had been healed for the grandmother appeared on the arms and hands of the boy. Nothing could be done to relieve his suffering. After a time, someone came to the grandmother and told her that the *tau'a* who had doctored her hand had cast the spell upon her grandchild, and furthermore, that this *tau'a* was at that moment upon her deathbed and that if she did not relieve the spell from the boy before she passed away he could not be healed. The grandmother then went to the *tau'a* and persuaded her to remove the spell. This she did before she died, and the boy's hands and arms healed. No one knew what the woman doctor did to lay this spell or to transfer it, or what she did, before she died, to remove it.

Removal of a Spell

On Hiva Oa when one was afflicted by *nati kaha*, a present called *kahaape taetae* was given to a *tau'a* to reveal who the *tuhuna* was who had laid the spell. It was then necessary by means of gifts to persuade the *tuhuna* to remove it.

The following account of the casting and removal of a spell laid on a white man, the captain of a trading schooner, is vouched for by white residents. The spell was worked by a *tuhuna nati kaha*, an old woman of Hiva Oa, at the behest of a native whose wife had been taken off by the white man. The native wanted revenge. The usual method was used—that is to say, a piece of clothing belonging to the white man was buried, with the proper incantations, in a hole in the ground under ashes and earth. The eyes of the victim were thereupon afflicted, so that for months he had to wear a bandage over them. Finally a young native offered to find the cause of this trouble. He built a fire, sat down before it, and watched the flames, calling it *te ahi na te etua*, the fire of the god. He

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formal marriage of this sort. The ordinary marriage involved no ceremony or gift exchanges and was merely the selection of a permanent partner by the eldest child as the hereditary household head. Unmarried individuals then attached themselves to these households in subsidiary positions. Because of the shortage of women, almost every girl had an opportunity to become the head wife in a household. Only rich households had subsidiary wives. Monogamous marriages occurred only among the very poor or in rare cases of strong personal attachment.

Old age brought no prestige in the Marquesas, and respect for parents was impossible in a society where a man was outranked by his son at birth and merely acted as regent until the child was old enough to marry. The high point of life for the Marquesan came during his years as active head of the household. The only people who remained important in old age were the inspirational priests. Ceremonial priests, when they became too old to officiate actively, had to give up their positions. The old women carried on most of the woman's work in the house, while the young women entertained the men; old men could always find odd jobs to keep themselves occupied. The old were neglected but were never killed or mistreated for fear that they might take revenge later, when they became ghosts.

There was very little quarreling among the Marquesans, and that only when they were drunk. Theft of food was not infrequent but was not seriously regarded. The owner of the food would be irate and would punish the thief if he could catch him, but the man who got away with the theft successfully would boast about it later when the owner's annoyance had had time to subside. There was practically no theft of anything except food, probably because all household objects were individually made and decorated so that the stolen article would be promptly recognized. There were some killings, almost invariably for only two causes: sexual jealousy during drunkenness, and revenge, usually by sorcery, for previous killings. The Marquesans had no form of legal procedure in handling crime. Each household was supposed to take care of its own interests.